DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 117 701 CS 202 444

AUTHOR McCombs, Maxwell; And Others
TITLE Why People Subscribe and Cancel; A "Stop-Start" Survey of Three Daily Newspapers. An ANPA News Research Center Study, News Research Bulletin, No. 3.
INSTITUTION American Newspaper Publishers Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Apr 74
NOTE 30p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS *Content Analysis; Media Research; *Newspapers; News Reporting; *Reading Habits; *Reading Interests; *Social Attitudes; Surveys
IDENTIFIERS Newspaper Circulation; *Newspaper Subscriptions

ABSTRACT

This study examines the reasons for cancellations of the newspaper, who makes the decision to stop the newspaper in each household, why the subscriber initiated service and who makes this decision, and why people read a newspaper. The sites selected for this study were Evansville, Indiana ("Evansville Press"), Raleigh, North Carolina ("The News and Observer"), and Los Angeles, California ("Los Angeles Times"). The study of new subscribers and those cancelling their subscriptions demonstrates that readers take a newspaper for both news coverage (content) and for psychological satisfaction (relaxation and enjoyment), but that they stop taking the newspaper mainly because of unsatisfactory delivery service, the cost of the newspaper, and lack of time to read the newspaper. While the decision to subscribe to a newspaper is usually a joint one, the decision to stop seems to be rather evenly divided among husbands, wives, and joint agreements. Husbands and wives seem to take the newspaper for about the same reasons, but to stop it for slightly different reasons. While reasons for taking the newspaper fall into two groups (content and psychological satisfaction), the reasons for stopping the newspaper are more diverse. (Tables are included). (RB)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

AMERICAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
P.O. Box 17407, Dulles International Airport, Washington, D.C. 20041
STANFORD SMITH, *President and General Manager*

News Research Bulletin No. 3 April 5, 1974

ED117701

WHY PEOPLE SUBSCRIBE AND CANCEL

A "Stop-Start" Survey of Three Daily Newspapers

An ANPA
News Research Center Study

Maxwell E. McCombs, L. E. Mullins,
and David H. Weaver

CS 202 444

INTRODUCTION

Getting new subscribers and holding on to old ones is a complicated process, as any circulation manager will attest. Many factors influence newspaper circulation, among them the size and growth of the primary circulation zone, economic health of the community and nation, type of population served by the newspaper, competition from other newspapers and other media — and recently, the availability of newsprint.

The average newspaper has little or no control over some of these factors. For example, when the general economic health of the nation is poor, the newspaper staff can only sit back and wait for conditions to change before it can expect much change in the circulation picture.

But there is an area in which an increasing number of newspapers believe they can affect their own circulation destiny. Taking their cues from consumer and marketing research, more newspapers are surveying their subscribers to find out what they like about the newspaper and what gripes they have when they stop taking it. Armed with information about the likes and dislikes of their readers, policy makers are better prepared to make decisions both in the short run and for the future.

THE AUTHORS

Maxwell C. McCombs is John Ben Snow Professor of Newspaper Research at Syracuse University.

L. E. Mullins is completing his work for a Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina.

David H. Weaver is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of North Carolina.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The ANPA News Research Center commissioned the study described in this report. The major objectives did not differ greatly from many earlier stop/start studies, except that the Center was also interested in the general question of why people read a newspaper. By adding this dimension to the more or less standard circulation service study, the Center hoped to provide information of interest and value to policy makers in other departments -- especially newseditorial -- of the newspaper.

The major questions posed by the study were:

1. What are the reasons for stopping the newspaper (including real cancellations as well as temporary ones)?
2. Who makes the decision to stop the newspaper?
3. Why did the customer decide to subscribe in the first place?
4. Who makes this decision in the household?
5. In general, why do people read a newspaper? In other words, what are they looking for and expecting in the newspaper?

Past Studies: Aggregate Factors

Past studies of daily newspaper circulation have focused upon such aggregate factors as general economic trends, population growth rates, competing mass media and personal income. John Davenport (1950) reported that patterns in daily newspaper circulation growth were due mainly to population growth and general economic conditions. Paul Scott (1954) suggested that television and higher prices of newspapers contributed to the decline of big-city newspaper circulation, and that changes in content of these newspapers could result in higher circulation. Wilbur Peterson (1959) found daily newspaper circulation positively related to population growth of persons over 20 years old. He also found that during periods of decreasing personal income, fewer newspapers were purchased, but that as their personal income rose, people did not buy proportionately more newspapers. Maxwell McCombs (1972) found what he termed the Principle of Relative Constancy — that only a small and fixed proportion of the economy is available to finance mass communication, and that as new media appear in the marketplace the proportion is resliced to accommodate them rather than being enlarged, R.K. Thorpe (1962)

suggested that population growth per se was not a strong predictor of circulation change, and reasoned that adult population and number of households in city of publication might be more useful predictors.

Past Studies: Individual Factors

Several studies have concentrated mainly on characteristics of individual readers and non-readers of daily newspapers. One such study by Bruce Westley and Warner Severin (1964) showed that the non-reader tends to be low in occupation, education and income, and likely to regard himself or herself as "working class" rather than "middle class." In addition, the non-reader is more likely to be a farmer than a city dweller, tends to have no political identification and usually is a non-voter.

Galen Rarick (1973) reported that non-subscribers in the Mansfield (Ohio) News-Journal area were more likely to be under 35 years old, more mobile and somewhat less involved socially, more likely to have lower annual incomes and more likely to have blue collar jobs. Nonsubscribers also had generally lower educational levels.

Past Studies: Why People Subscribe

In addition to these studies there have been several others that attempted to find out why people take a newspaper and what they like most about that newspaper. Bernard Berelson (1949) asked people what they missed most about not having a newspaper during the 1945 New York City newspaper deliverymen's strike. He found that people used the newspaper for information about public affairs, as a tool for daily living (e.g., for radio logs, movie ads, stock exchange information), for respite or "escape," for social prestige (being informed at social gatherings) and for social contact (advice and gossip columns, news of famous persons). Berelson also found some evidence to indicate that reading itself, regardless of content, is a strongly and pleasurably motivated act in urban society, and that to many people reading the newspaper is a ceremonial or ritualistic behavior.

Wilbur Schramm (1949) suggested that a person selects news in expectation of reward, either immediate or delayed, and will choose a given item of news which he thinks is likely to given him the greatest reward. Schramm and David White

(1959) found that as a reader grows older, he used a newspaper less for entertainment and more for information and serious viewpoints on public affairs. Bruce Westley and Lionel Barrow (1959) proposed the existence of a news-seeking attribute which they defined as "a persistent tendency to place a positive value on information that is potentially relevant to the individual's orientation to his surroundings . . ." (p. 437). M. E. Samuelson (1960), in a study of the 1959 San Jose pressman's strike, concluded that the motivation of readers to get a substitute newspaper was mainly a desire to read about state, national and international events. Roy Carter and Peter Clarke (1962) found that special coverage of news in the suburbs by the Minneapolis Star was likely to attract readers or prove uninteresting to them mainly according to whether or not they knew people living in the suburbs.

Maxwell McCombs and David Weaver (1973) suggested that people are more likely to use mass media (newspapers, television and news magazines) for information about a given subject area, such as politics, according to their need for orientation. They defined need for political orientation in terms of how interested a person is in politics and how uncertain he is about how to vote.

Past Studies: Why People Cancel

In addition to studies dealing with circulation growth factors, characteristics of readers and non-readers and motivations for taking a newspaper, there have been a few studies by newspaper research departments to determine why people stop taking a newspaper and which people are retained longest as subscribers.

In Charlotte, N.C., Mary Junck (1972) found that subscriptions sold by telephone got started sooner and had a higer retention rate than those sold by newspaper carriers. Retention rates for persons with annual incomes over $10,000 were substantially higher than those for persons with lower incomes. The Los Angeles Times Marketing Research Division (1972) found just the opposite -- retention was highest where the source of subscription was voluntary or obtained by the carrier himself, and lowest with telephone solicitations. The major reasons for stopping a subscription were "no need, no time, don't read," followed closely by "moved out of the Los Angeles area -- did not transfer."

In five different studies of stop orders from June 1969 to

September 1970, the Milwaukee Journal (1970) discovered that the majority of cancellations were not real stops, but were vacation or weekend stops and reorders. More than half the real cancellations (stops for cause) were due to poor service by the newspaper carrier, and more than half the real cancellations still read the Journal but bought it from a newsstand or store.

In addition, more than half the real cancellations were from renters (57.1%) as compared to home owners (38.1%), in a study of 647 persons. Other reasons for real stops included disagreement with editorial policy or one-sided news coverage, dislike of the Journal's coverage of controversial people and events, a switch to the Milwaukee Sentinel, disinterest, preference for television news, lack of time to read the newspaper, and objection to the price of the Journal.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

Three sites were selected for this study with the aim of giving some generality to the findings. The sites were Evansville, Indiana; Raleigh, North Carolina; and Los Angeles, California. Respondents in Evansville were readers of the Evansville Press, an afternoon newspaper with just under 50,000 circulation daily and almost 120,000 circulation Sunday (under joint nameplate with the Courier). In Raleigh, the readers were subscribers to The News and Observer, a morning newspaper with a daily circulation of more than 135,000 and a Sunday circulation of more than 155,000. Los Angeles respondents were readers of The Los Angeles Times with a daily morning circulation of more than 1,000,000 and a Sunday circulation of more than 1,185,000.

Interviews in Evansville were conducted by students in the Department of Journalism at Indiana University. In Raleigh, classified advertising employees were trained by a member of the research team to conduct the interviews. The Los Angeles survey was conducted by the Times research department. At each site, the circulation departments cooperated by making available the stop and start orders to the field coordinators.

The objective was to obtain in each city 150 interviews with persons who had recently stopped their subcription and 150 interviews with persons who had recently started taking the newspaper. Except in Los Angeles, the interviews fell

short of the 300 goal but obtained enough interviews to permit analysis in most areas of interest.

The most troublesome problem in the study was reaching the person who, for whatever reason, had stopped the newspaper. The most difficult types of respondents to contact were those leaving town for a few days and those moving away. Bearing witness to their attachment to the newspaper, or lack of foresight, subscribers typically waited until the last minute before halting delivery of their newspaper. Consequently, the completed sample of "stops" was smaller than the completed sample of "starts."

None of the samples drawn in the three cities was a probability (random) sample, making estimation of sampling error impossible. Each field coordinator simply took the orders from the cooperating newspaper as they became available. An attempt was made to interview an equal number of males and females, but as is often the case, more females were interviewed because of their greater availability and willingness to be interviewed.

Despite the lack of a strictly random sample, we may still compare the results obtained in the present study with those of past studies and may look for patterns of likes and dislikes in the content and services of the different newspapers.

The names of persons to be interviewed were obtained in the latter part of September 1973, and most of the interviews were completed in the first two weeks of October when most people's summer vacations were over and most schools had resumed classes. Circulation department personnel who were consulted in preparation of the survey agreed that early October would be an ideal time for a stop/start study.

PART I.
THE START SURVEY -- WHY PEOPLE TAKE AND READ A NEWSPAPER

The simplest answer to why people read a newspaper is that they read it because they like to. In our interviews with new and resumed subscribers, we found a strong theme of taking the newspaper for sheer enjoyment.

Most newspaper readers are subscribers. In the ANPA News Research Center's national survey in 1971, three out of four weekday newspapers read were home-delivered. Even in large metropolitan areas nearly 7 in 10 papers are home-delivered. In non-metropolitan areas, 8 out of 10

newspapers are home-delivered.

There is some evidence that people read a newspaper because they subscribe to it. That is, people who subscribe are better (more thorough, more frequent) readers than the small number of pass-along readers and casual purchasers. If a person pays for something and the purchase is an important act, he is more likely to use it than if he gets it free or if the purchase is a "take-it-or-leave-it" matter.

While there is no universally accepted catalogue of reasons people read a newspaper, there are a few generalizations about reading that have emerged from the three or four decades of research on the newspaper reader:

1. Upper socio-economic groups are the heaviest readers.
2. Reading a newspaper is often approached as a matter of daily habit, and individuals often are ritualistic in their reading, following a set pattern.
3. The "news" in the paper is the thing readers say they like most about the newspaper, although a sizable minority may specify a particular kind of news or content.
4. There seem to be two basic types of answers people give to the question of why they read a newspaper. One is psychological and is illustrated vividly by the elderly woman in Raleigh who volunteered that she "just couldn't get along without my News and Observer." The other is content-oriented, illustrated by the many readers who said they took the newspaper in order to read some particular kind of subject matter, or to "keep up" with things in general.
5. Newspaper reading seems to help people carry out duties related to a number of roles. Thus the businessman may use it for the financial news, the teenager for the TV schedule and the housewife for the ads. And these same persons when in another role (e.g., father, student, charity worker) may use it for very different reasons. When we find age and sex differences in reading behavior, we are probably really finding differences according to principal roles associated with age and sex.
6. Different content orientations of the newspaper seem to create interest in particular parts of the newspaper, somewhat in the nature of creating an "acquired taste" on the part of the reader.

Why do people subscribe?

What generally comes to the new or resumed subscriber's mind when he is asked his reasons for subscribing to the

newspaper? The greatest number said general "enjoyment," regardless of the city under study. They take the newspaper because they enjoy reading a newspaper. Twenty-six percent of those answering this question said enjoyment was their man reason for subscribing. Table 1 shows the breakdown of reasons.

A considerable number said they took the newspaper because it was the dominant newspaper or because there wasn't any other effective choice. The third most frequently mentioned reason was time of publication (either a.m. or p.m.), followed by appreciation for the coverage of the news in general, the newspaper's promotion campaign and local news coverage. There was very little difference in reasons given by males and females (Table 2). The order of the first four most frequently mentioned reasons is identical for both sexes, suggesting that males and females take the newspaper for essentially the same general reasons.

By and large the decision to subscribe to a newspaper and to take a particular newspaper is a decision arrived at jointly by the husband and wife. Where one spouse made the decision, the husband did so more frequently than the wife (Table 3). This finding in the start survey differs from that of the stop survey, where the wife seems to have been the decision maker at least as frequently as the husband in initiating a stop for cause (delivery problem, costs, etc.; see Table 18.)

Another way to get at attachments to the newspaper is to ask what the reader would miss most if he couldn't get the newspaper. As shown in Table 4, the thing cited most often was "the news." Half of the 400 persons answering the question said "the news" would be the thing they would miss the most.

Sports ranked second. More than 80 percent giving this answer were men even though men made up only 40 percent of the sample. Still, it is interesting that 17 of the 221 women (7.8%) named sports as the thing they would miss most, indicating a keener interest by women in the sports pages than if often assumed. (Is women's interest in sports increasing? Are sports departments increasing coverage of women's sports?)

Other answers frequently given were features (including columns), advertising, women's and society news, local news, the editorials and financial news. There were only slight differences by sex in thses categories, except for women's and society news, which was named first by 21 persons -- all women.

Reasons for Taking/Reading the Newspaper

We followed up the open-ended question about reasons for subscribing to a particular newspaper with a list of general reasons for taking (or reading) the newspaper.

Somewhat surprisingly, for these new and resumed subscribers, taking the newspaper in order to keep up with "what's going on nationally and internationally" was judged "very important" just as often as was "keeping up with local happenings" (Table 5). Seven in ten gave each of these responses. Closely following was "keeping up with state happenings." Each of five other reasons was cited by about half of the respondents. Those reasons were as follows: "the day isn't complete without the paper," news of politics and government, "it's a habit with me," sports and relaxation and enjoyment.

Table 5 supplements the preceding tables. Five of the top eight reasons are types of news and the other three are general psychological satisfactions obtained from reading the paper. Four of the eight might be classified as, or at least related to, hard news events. Feature stories and other soft news were rated less important by the respondents.

When we break down these reasons by sex (Table 6), we can see a few sharp differences but many more similarities. Males and females differ rather strikingly, as expected, in the importance attached to sports, women's and family news and business news. But there is very little difference in the importance given to local, national and international news. The women, however, are much more interested than are men in the feature and human interest content of the newspaper.

Differences among the newspapers as to reasons for taking them (Table 7) probably reflect to some degree the content emphases of the three newspapers and the resulting acquired tastes of the readers, as well as differences as to the characteristics of the populations served. For example, the national/international flavor of the Los Angeles Times appears to be reflected by the large number in the Los Angeles study (76.6%) who said this content was "very important" to them. Local news received the greatest number of "very important" mentions by Evansville and Raleigh readers. Sports news was rated considerably more important by the readers of the two larger newspapers.

The emphasis on state news by the Raleigh newspaper is reflected by the nearly three in four who listed state

happenings as "very important," compared to less than 60 percent who gave the same response in the other two cities.

Interestingly, each of three general psychological reasons for taking the newspaper (day isn't complete without it, a habit, relaxation/enjoyment) was less important for the new and resumed subscribers in Los Angeles than it was in the two smaller cities.

Variety of Content Desired

Overall, there seems to be a great deal of support in all three cities for a varied publication, one containing reports of events with world-wide as well as local implications. (Since the survey was conducted at a time of rapid-fire disclosures related to the Watergate controversy, these events perhaps helped to increase the importance of national affairs.)

Age has frequently been found to be related to general newspaper reading as well as to content preferences. Overall, however, Table 8 is noteworthly for similarities rather than differences across age groups. Consistent with previous studies, the lowest age group (16-25) attached less importance to reading the newspaper than older groups. Reading the newspaper "grows on you," as one of our respondents remarked.

The youngest group was lowest in 15 of the 17 categories. It is worth noting that comics and entertainment pages were the two exceptions.

The two middle age groups, which constituted the bulk of the sample, attached the greatest importance to national/international news, and local and state happening. The oldest group was more likely than the other groups to attach importance to three psychological reasons for taking a newspaper -- habit, "helps to make the day complete," and "gives me something to talk about." This groups finds the newspaper most valuable for keeping up with local happenings. The older readers were the least likely to be interested in sports news; a finding that results in part from the predominance of elderly women. Overall, there is much similarity in the answers given by the top three age groups.

High education did not mean uniformly stronger attachment to the newspaper. The more highly educated (see Table 9) attached slightly more importance to national/international news than the other groups, and to business and financial news, but otherwise the more highly educated respondents were lower in many categories than the other two groups. Somewhat surprisingly, they rated news of

politics and government no higher than did the less educated.

The more highly educated also tended to show less strong psychological attachment to the newspaper than did other educational groups. This is hard to explain in the light of past research that generally supports the idea that persons high in socio-economic status (of which education is an important factor) are the most faithful users of the newspaper.

If education is not systematically related to the reasons for taking a newspaper, what is? The answer seems to be political interest. As shown in Table 10, those people who said they were "very interested in politics" were more likely to attach importance to national/international news, state news (which frequently consists largely of legislative reports), news of politics and government and editorials.

It does not appear that the politically interested were less interested in other types of content than the low political interest group, on the whole; but they were definitely more interested in public affairs news. Maxwell McCombs and L. E. Mullins (1973) reported that college students who were interested in politics made more frequent and more extensive use of the newspaper, and the extra amount of reading consisted disproportionately of editorials, news analyses and stories about key public issues and social trends. In that study, political interest was related to level of education, but apparently the more critical variable in locating general audience members with interest in public affairs content is political interest.

In terms of Rarick's finding (1973) that the newspaper reader tends to be an "involved" citizen, political interest in this context may be an index of one's psychological involvement in community, state, national and world affairs.

PART II.
THE STOP SURVEY –
WHY PEOPLE CANCEL SUBSCRIPTIONS

The chief reason for "really" stopping the newspaper (not because of vacation or moving) was poor service by the newspaper carrier (Table 11). This corresponds with the findings of the Milwaukee Journal studies mentioned earlier. Other important reasons for stopping the newspaper include lack of time, high price, preference for another newspaper and disinterest in the newspaper. Objections to editorial content and news coverage did not appear as major manifest reasons for cancellation.

Types of delivery problems most common were unreliable delivery and improper delivery (see Table 12). Interestingly, property damage was also mentioned as a delivery problem.

Respondents were asked, "Could you tell us the main reason you had the paper stopped?" Even when answers to this question were partitioned by age, education, sex and city of residence, delivery problems remained at the top of the list of reasons for really stopping the newspaper (see Tables 13 to 15).

Also regardless of partitioning, lack of time to read and high cost of the newspaper were the next most frequent main reasons for stopping the newspaper, with taking another newspaper being close behind. Lack of time to read the newspaper seemed especially important to respondents who were 19 to 25 years old and to those living in Los Angeles (see Tables 13 and 15). It also tended to be more important for those with a college education and for husbands rather than wives (see Tables 14, 16 and 17).

Cost of the newspaper did not seem to matter more to husbands or wives, but appeared to be more important for respondents under 35 years of age than for others. It also seemed to be fairly important for those living in Los Angeles (see Tables 13 and 15).

Taking another newspaper was a more important reason for respondents with some college or technical training than it was for college graduates. It was also a very important reason for wives, but not for husbands (see Tables 14, 16 and 17).

Another apparent difference between husbands and wives concerned annoyance over amount of space for advertisements. Husbands listed this complaint somewhat more often than did wives (see Table 16).

Decisions to really stop the newspaper (not vacations or moving away) were made about equally by husbands, wives and husbands and wives together in the three cities studied (see Table 18).

Disinterest in the newspaper was a fairly important reason for stopping the newspaper for those respondents under 25 years old and for those with high school diplomas or less education. It was also a fairly important reason for those living in Los Angeles (see Tables 13 to 15).

In general, then, the most important reasons given by people for stopping the newspaper (other than vacations or moving) were delivery problems, lack of time to read, high cost, switching to another newspaper and disinterest in the paper.

TV News Also a Reason

In order to find out more about why people stopped the newspaper, the researchers asked respondents to answer "yes" or "no" to 10 possible reasons for stopping, indicating whether or not each reason applied in any way to their decision to stop. The object was to determine reasons other than the main one.

As with the question on main reason for stopping, it was found that delivery problems, lack of time to read, high cost and switching to another newspaper were important reasons for stopping the newspaper. But a reason that had not been given before -- prefer television news -- tied with "not enough time" for first place (see Table 19).

This finding may be due in part to the emphasis on "the newspaper" in the first question (Could you tell us the main reason you had the newspaper stopped?). Perhaps respondents felt that their answers should be limited to reasons directly related to characteristics of the newspaper, and therefore did not mention preference for television news until it was suggested in this later question.

When these "other" reasons were partitioned by age, education, sex of respondent and city of residence, preference for TV news remained as one of the three most important reasons except in Raleigh, where it was fourth (see Tables 20 to 24). Delivery problems also continued as an important reason for stopping, as did cost of the newspaper and preference for another newspaper.

Poor delivery service was particularly important to those respondents over 65, to those households where a joint decision was made to stop the newspaper and to those respondents living in Evansville and Raleigh (see Tables 20, 22, and 24).

Preference for television news was especially important to respondents under 35 (see Table 20). It was also quite important as a reason for stopping among those with college degrees, and for those households where the husband made the decision to stop the newspaper (see Tables 21 to 23). When the sample was partitioned according to city of residence, preference for television was less important than delivery problems in Raleigh, while those two reasons were equally important in Evansville, and TV news was more important in Los Angeles.

Lack of time to read the newspaper was most important to respondents under 35 years old, those with a college degree and those living in Los Angeles (see Tables 20, 21 and 24). In fact, lack of time was the foremost "other" reason in the

hurried metropolis of Los Angeles, but was not among the top five reasons in either of the two smaller cities.

Cost important to Elderly

Cost of the newspaper was more important for those over 65 years old, for those households where the decision to stop was made by the wife, and for those respondents living in Evansville, but did not differ much according to education.

Disinterest in the newspaper did not seem as important as it did in the answers to the question on the main reason for stopping, and did not vary much in rank ordering according to age, education, sex of person making the decision to stop or city of residence.

Thus, the answers to the open-ended main reason question and to the suggested motives for stopping the newspaper point to about the same reasons, except for the importance of TV news, with some variations in terms of age, education, sex and location of respondents. Unsatisfactory delivery service and preference for television news seem to be the chief reasons for "real" cancellations of newspaper subscriptions, followed by not enough time to read the newspaper, preference for another newspaper and cost.

Four of the 10 suggested reasons for stopping the newspaper were concerned with news-editorial content. Not one of these reasons, however, ranked among the top five in any one of the three cities. These comparatively unimportant reasons were: newspaper was uninteresting, dislike coverage of controversy, dislike editorial views and dissatisfied with sports and features.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of new subscribers and those cancelling their subscriptions demonstrates that readers take a newspaper for both news coverage (content) and for psychological satisfaction (relaxation and enjoyment), but that they stop taking the newspaper mainly because of unsatisfactory delivery service, the cost of the newspaper and lack of time to read the newspaper.

Whereas the decision to subscribe to a newspaper is usually a joint one, the decision to stop seems to be rather evenly divided among husbands, wives and joint agreements.

Husbands and wives seem to take the newspaper for about the same reasons, but to stop it for slightly different reasons.

While reasons for taking the newspaper seem to be divided into two rather distinct groups (content and psychological satisfaction), reasons for stopping the newspaper seem to be

more closely related. For example, unsatisfactory delivery service may lead a subscriber to conclude that the cost of what he is getting is too high, or that he doesn't have the time to spend tracking down missing copies of the newspaper. This combination of delivery problems, wasted time and money may lead the subscriber to conclude that television news is more dependable and less costly than the newspaper.

These findings imply the need for greater emphasis on circulation procedures by newspaper policy-makers who wish to retain or increase existing circulation levels. Clearly, people are not quitting the newspapers studied because they are unhappy with their news coverage or editorial positions, but because they are dissatisfied with delivery service and with what they are getting for their money in comparison with the time that reading the newspaper requires. In fact, editorial content seems less important than too much advertising in influencing those people who stop their subscriptions.

This apparent satisfaction with, and attraction to, editorial content may be interpreted to mean that people are genuinely satisfied with the news coverage and editorial position of the newspapers studied -- or that people don't really study and think about this content seriously enough to object to it.

Whichever is the case, it seems fairly clear that newspaper executives should do something about improving delivery service. They can put more emphasis on circulation procedures and on delivery systems. This emphasis seems especially important in light of the findings of the ANPA news Research Center's 1971 national survey showing that three out of four weekday newspapers are home-delivered. While newspaper policy-makers cannot change the general economic health of the nation or alter the rate of population growth in an area, they can try to improve delivery service and strive to keep the subscription cost of the newspaper down.

In regard to reader satisfaction, the "news" rather than the "features" (columnists, puzzles, comics) seems to be the thing that new subscribers value the most in their newspaper. A strong liking for local, state, national and international, as well as women's/family and sports coverage was apparent among the new subscribers of all three papers studied.

Among these subscribers at least, the newspapers' main purpose -- providing a wide variety of news -- is appreciated and apparently is the thing that "keeps them coming back."

TABLE 1
MAIN REASON FOR SUBSCRIBING

Reason	Number/Percent
Enjoyment	64 (25.9%)
Prominence, "no choice"	55 (22.3%)
Time of publication	45 (18.2%)
General news coverage	36 (14.6%)
Newspaper promotion campaign	16 (6.5%)
Local news coverage	10 (4.0%)
Recommended by others	7 (2.8%)
Editorial stance	3 (1.2%)
Features	3 (1.2%)
Sports	3 (1.2%)
Financial news	3 (1.2%)
Advertising	2 (0.8%)
Total	247

TABLE 2
MAIN REASON FOR SUBSCRIBING, BY SEX

	Sex of Respondent	
Reason	Male	Female
Enjoyment	26(25.2%)	38(29.2%)
Prominence, "no choice"	23(22.3%)	32(24.6%)
Time of publication	22(21.4%)	23(17.7%)
General news coverage	17(16.5%)	19(14.6%)
Local news coverage	7(6.8%)	3(2.3%)
Recommended by others	3(2.9%)	4(3.1%)
Newspaper promotion campaign	5(4.8%)	11(8.5%)
Total	103	130

TABLE 3
WHO MADE DECISION TO SUBSCRIBE

Joint decision	142 (40.9%)
Husband	87 (25.1%)
Wife	69 (19.9%)
Other*	49 (14.1%)
Total	347

*Includes roommates, other relatives, etc.

TABLE 4
WHAT WOULD BE MISSED MOST IF NEWSPAPER NOT AVAILABLE

	Number/Percent
"The news"	201 (50.2%)
Sports	72 (18.0%)

Features	23 (5.8%)
Advertising	23 (5.8%)
Women's news/society	21 (5.2%)
Local news coverage	18 (4.5%)
Editorial guidance/editorials and analysis	17 (4.2%)
Financial news and tables	10 (2.5%)
Entertainment (e.g., TV schedule)	6 (1.5%)
Comics	5 (1.2%)
Games and puzzles	4 (1.0%)
Total	400

TABLE 5
GENERAL REASONS FOR TAKING A NEWSPAPER

Reason	Percentage*
To keep up with national/international happenings	71.1
To keep up with local happenings	70.0
To keep up with state happenings	60.8
Day isn't complete without the newspaper	52.9
News of politics and government	51.8
It's a habit	48.2
Sports news	47.8
Relaxation/enjoyment	45.2
Feature stories/human interest	40.3
Entertainment pages	37.2
Advertising	36.3
Editorials and analysis	34.4
Comics	33.7
Women's and family news	33.3
Gives me something to talk about	33.3
Business and financial pages	31.3
Local columnists	28.2

*Percentages are based on 454 respondents. Each percentage represents those who said the given reason applied to them "very much."

TABLE 6
GENERAL REASONS FOR TAKING A NEWSPAPER, BY SEX OF RESPONDENT

	Sex of Respondent	
Reason	Male	Female
To keep up with national/international happenings	74.3%*	70.1%
To keep up with local happenings	67.9%	72.8%
To keep up with state happenings	55.4%	66.2%
Day isn't complete without the newspaper	51.4%	55.8%
News of politics and government	49.4%	55.2%

It's a habit	45.7%	51.9%
Sports	62.8%	38.2%
Relaxation/enjoyment	40.8%	49.4%
Features stories/human interest	31.0%	48.4%
Entertainment pages	34.1%	40.8%
Advertising	29.0%	42.9%
Editorials and analysis	28.1%	40.0%
Comics	36.9%	33.6%
Women's and family news	9.4%	51.4%
Gives me something to talk about	33.3%	34.1%
Business and financial pages	41.7%	26.2%
Local columnists	22.0%	33.6%

*Percentages are based on about 185 males and 260 females; the number varies slightly from reason to reason. Each percentage represents those who said the given reason applied to them "very much."

TABLE 7
GENERAL REASONS FOR TAKING A NEWSPAPER, BY SIZE OF NEWSPAPER

	Size of Newspaper		
Reason	46,000	135,000	1,000,000
To keep up with national/international happenings	63.5%*	76.3%	76.6%
To keep up with local happenings	76.9%	81.4%	58.3%
To keep up with state happenings	56.4%	73.3%	58.9%
Day isn't complete without the newspaper	55.8%	61.9%	46.0%
News of politics and government	41.7%	57.8%	59.2%
It's a habit	52.6%	56.3%	41.3%
Sports news	39.7%	56.8%	50.6%
Relaxation/enjoyment	51.3%	52.5%	36.8%
Feature stories/human interest	40.3%	42.6%	41.1%
Entertainment pages	33.8%	45.2%	37.4%
Advertising	41.7%	49.1%	25.0%
Editorials and analysis	38.5%	37.3%	30.2%
Comics	28.2%	46.6%	32.6%
Women's and family news	41.8%	37.9%	25.2%
Gives me something to talk about	31.2%	43.7%	29.3%
Business and financial pages	26.9%	37.9%	33.5%
Local columnists	34.0%	35.7%	20.0%

*Percentages are based on about 156 readers of the 46,000 circulation daily, 175 readers of the 1,000,000 circulation newspaper and 116 from the 135,000 circulation newspaper, with the number varying slightly from one reason to another. Each percentage represents those who said the given reason applied to them "very much."

TABLE 8
GENERAL REASONS FOR TAKING A NEWSPAPER, BY AGE OF RESPONDENT

Reason	Age of Respondent 16-25	26-35	36-65	66-87
To keep up with national/ international happenings	68.8%*	73.1%	74.3%	69.4%
To keep up with local happenings	65.1%	71.5%	70.1%	86.1%
To keep up with state happenings	55.6%	67.4%	62.9%	58.3%
Day isn't complete without the newspaper	34.9%	51.9%	61.3%	80.6%
News of politics and government	45.4%	57.0%	53.3%	55.6%
It's a habit	33.0%	44.5%	57.0%	75.0%
Sports news	47.7%	58.9%	44.0%	27.8%
Relaxation/enjoyment	45.9%	39.2%	50.0%	44.4%
Features stories/human interest	39.8%	38.8%	42.5%	45.7%
Entertainment pages	44.4%	42.5%	31.0%	37.1%
Advertising	34.6%	35.2%	40.1%	41.7%
Editorials and analysis	19.3%	33.8%	43.0%	47.2%
Comics	42.6%	37.6%	27.7%	28.6%
Women's and family news	30.6%	32.3%	36.7%	41.7%
Gives me somethings to talk about	32.7%	30.2%	34.5%	47.2%
Business and financial pages	15.7%	33.3%	41.5%	31.4%
Local columnists	20.6%	27.9%	28.6%	28.6%

*Percentages are based on about 108 persons 16 to 35 years old, 129 persons 26 to 35, 167 persons 36 to 65, and 36 persons 66 to 87 years old, with the number varying slightly from one reason to another. Each percentage represents respondents who said the given reason applied to them "very much."

TABLE 9
GENERAL REASONS FOR TAKING A NEWSPAPER, BY EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT

Reason	Level of Education: College Grad. or Higher	Tech. School or Some College	High School or Less
To keep up with national/international happenings	76.8%*	72.1%	66.2%
To keep up with local happenings	64.9%	72.1%	76.3%
To keep up with state happenings	62.3%	60.4%	63.3%
Day isn't complete without the newspaper	53.6%	45.3%	61.9%
News of politics and government	56.9%	58.0%	58.0%
It's a habit	44.6%	47.5%	54.0%
Sports news	52.4%	51.1%	40.3%
Relaxation/enjoyment	36.5%	50.7%	51.8%

Feature stories/human interest	38.9%	45.3%	39.9%
Entertainment pages	37.7%	40.7%	35.5%
Advertising	29.3%	36.7%	46.8%
Editorials and analysis	37.0%	30.5%	37.2%
Comics	36.5%	36.0%	31.6%
Women's and family news	24.0%	38.4%	42.0%
Gives me something to talk about	31.0%	34.3%	36.7%
Business and financial news	37.5%	33.1%	25.0%
Local columnists	26.9%	27.3%	33.6%

*Percentages are based on about 167 persons with a college degree or some graduate study; 139 with some college or technical school; and 135 with a high school diploma or less, with the number varying slightly from reason to reason. Each percentage represents those who said the given reason applied to them "very much."

TABLE 10
GENERAL REASONS FOR TAKING A NEWSPAPER, BY POLITICAL INTEREST OF RESPONDENT

Reason	Political Interest	
	High	Low
To keep up with national/ international happenings	82.6%*	65.3%
To keep up with local happenings	71.3%	70.5%
To keep up with state happenings	69.7%	56.8%
Day isn't complete without the newspaper	57.6%	51.9%
News of politics and government	75.7%	37.9%
It's a habit	48.6%	49.8%
Sports news	42.0%	52.6%
Relaxation/enjoyment	43.3%	47.9%
Features stories/human interest	44.9%	39.3%
Entertainment pages	37.8%	38.4%
Advertising	30.9%	41.4%
Editorials and analysis	41.2%	31.3%
Comics	33.7%	36.1%
Women's and family news	27.8%	38.9%
Gives me something to talk about	31.5%	36.0%
Business and financial pages	35.3%	30.7%
Local columnists	30.3%	28.2%

*Percentages are based on about 179 respondents with high political interest and about 267 respondents with low political interest, with the number varying slightly from one reason to another. Each percentage represents those who said the given reason applied to them "very much."

TABLE 11
MAIN REASON FOR STOPPING

Reason	Percentage*
Delivery problems	21.7
Went on vacation	17.2
Moved out of town	11.7
Not enough time to read	10.6
Newspaper costs too much	8.8
Took another newspaper	7.8
Disinterest in the newspaper	6.7
Too much advertising	5.0
Now get newspaper another way	2.8
Newspaper too large	2.8
Object to editorial stance	1.7
Dissatisfied with news coverage	1.7
Switched to Sunday only	1.7

*Percentages are based upon 180 respondents to the question "Could you tell us the main reason you had the newspaper stopped?"

TABLE 12
TYPES OF DELIVERY PROBLEMS

Problems	Percentage*
Unreliable delivery (failure to deliver)	42.0
Improper delivery (wet, put in wrong place, etc.)	34.0
Late delivery	16.0
Damage to property	6.0
Carrier personality	2.0

*Percentages are based on 50 respondents who mentioned unsatisfactory delivery service as a reason for stopping the newspaper.

TABLE 13
MAIN REASON FOR STOPPING, BY AGE OF RESPONDENT

	Age of Respondent			
Reason	19-25 (N=36)	26-35 (N=52)	36-65 (N=57)	66-87 (N=10)
Delivery problems	30.6%	21.2%	26.3%	20.0%
Went on vacation	5.6%	13.5%	24.6%	60.0%
Moved out of town	11.1%	15.4%	12.3%	10.0%
Not enough time to read	22.2%	9.6%	10.5%	0.0%
Newspaper costs too much	11.1%	13.5%	5.3%	10.0%
Took another newspaper	5.6%	9.6%	8.8%	0.0%
Disinterest in the newspaper	11.1%	7.7%	7.0%	0.0%
Too much advertising	2.8%	9.6%	5.3%	0.0%

TABLE 14
MAIN REASON FOR STOPPING, BY EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT

Reason	Level of Education: College Grad. or Higher (N=63)	Tech. School or Some College (N=48)	High School or Less (N=45)
Delivery problems	15.9%	31.2%	28.9%
Went on vacation	23.8%	8.3%	22.2%
Moved out of town	22.2%	10.4%	4.4%
Not enough time to read	15.9%	8.3%	8.9%
Newspaper costs too much	9.5%	8.3%	11.1%
Took another newspaper	4.8%	14.6%	8.9%
Disinterest in the newspaper	6.3%	6.2%	11.1%
Too much advertising	1.6%	12.5%	4.4%

TABLE 15
MAIN REASON FOR STOPPING, BY NEWSPAPER STUDIED*

135,000 Circulation Daily

Reason	Number/Percent
Went on vacation	27 (40.3%)
Moved out of town	19 (28.4%)
Delivery problems	12 (17.9%)
Took another newspaper	9 (8.3%)
Total	67

1,000,000 Circulation Daily

Reason	Number/Percent
Delivery problems	26 (28.6%)
Not enough time to read	19 (20.9%)
Newspaper costs too much	16 (17.6%)
Disinterest in the newspaper	12 (13.2%)
Too much advertising	9 (9.9%)
Took another newspaper	5 (5.5%)
Moved out of town	2 (2.2%)
Went on vacation	2 (2.2%)
Total	91

*Main reasons for stopping are not reported for the 46,000 circulation daily due to the small number of respondents answering the question.

TABLE 16
MAIN REASON FOR STOPPING, BY PERSON WHO MADE DECISION TO STOP

Reason	Who Made Decision		
	Husband (N=38)	Wife (N=41)	Joint (N=33)
Delivery problems	34.2%	24.4%	33.3%
Went on vacation	2.6%	2.4%	15.2%
Moved out of town	5.3%	9.8%	12.1%
Not enough time to read	21.1%	12.2%	9.1%
Newspaper costs too much	15.8%	14.6%	6.1%
Taking another newspaper	2.6%	22.0%	9.1%
Disinterest in the newspaper	7.9%	12.2%	6.1%
Too much advertising	10.5%	2.4%	9.1%

TABLE 17
COMPARISON OF HUSBAND'S AND WIVE'S MAIN REASONS FOR STOPPING THE NEWSPAPER

Reason	Husband's Ranking	Wife's Ranking
Delivery problems	First	First
Not enough time to read	Second	Fourth
Newspaper costs too much	Third	Third
Too much advertising	Fourth	Eighth
Disinterest in the newspaper	Fifth	Fifth (tie)
Moved out of town	Sixth	Fifth (tie)
Took another newspaper	Seventh (tie)	Second
Went on vacation	Seventh (tie)	Seventh

TABLE 18
WHO MADE DECISION TO STOP

Wife	64 (31.7%)
Husband	59 (29.2%)
Joint	56 (27.7%)
Other*	23 (11.4%)
Total	202

*Includes roommates, other relatives, etc.

TABLE 19
OTHER REASONS FOR STOPPING

Reason	Percent Saying Yes	Number Replying
Prefer TV news	40.0	165
Not enough time to read	39.5	177

Delivery service unsatisfactory	35.4	178
Newspaper costs too much	27.3	176
Started taking another newspaper	24.3	173
Newspaper was uninteresting	11.2	178
Collection/billing unsatisfactory	9.6	176
Dislike coverage of controversy	9.5	169
Dislike editorial views	6.3	159
Dissatisfied with sports and features	4.3	164

TABLE 20
OTHER REASONS FOR STOPPING, BY AGE OF RESPONDENT

	Age of Respondent			
Reason	19-25	26-35	36-65	66-87
Prefer TV news	45.5%*	44.4%	36.8%	38.5%
Not enough time to read	44.4%	46.9%	36.6%	13.3%
Delivery service unsatisfactory	34.2%	33.3%	36.2%	46.7%
Newspaper costs too much	25.0%	30.0%	21.4%	50.0%
Started taking another newspaper	24.3%	22.9%	23.2%	23.1%
Newspaper was uninteresting	5.6%	12.0%	15.3%	6.7%
Collection/billing unsatisfactory	8.1%	12.0%	5.8%	20.0%
Dislike coverage of controversy	3.0%	8.5%	13.0%	13.3%
Dislike editorial views	0.0%	4.3%	9.7%	7.7%
Dissatisfied with sports and features	0.0%	6.7%	4.6%	7.7%

*Percentages are based on the number of persons in each category answering the question. For example, 45.5 percent of the "real" stops in the 19-25 age group said "prefer TV news" figured into their decision to stop, 44.4 percent of those in the 26-35 age group said "yes" to this item, 36.8% of those in the 36-65 group said "yes," and 38.5% of those in the 66-87 group said that "prefer TV news" figured into their decision to stop the newspaper.

TABLE 21
OTHER REASONS FOR STOPPING, BY EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT

	Education of Respondent		
Reason	College Grad. or Higher	Tech. School or Some College	High School or Less
Prefer TV news	49.0%*	41.8%	29.3%
Not enough time to read	48.1%	42.1%	29.7%

Delivery service unsatisfactory	34.5%	38.9%	31.8%
Newspaper costs too much	28.3%	28.1%	25.8%
Started taking another newspaper	23.1%	30.0%	19.0%
Newspaper was uninteresting	11.8%	15.5%	7.6%
Collection/billing unsatisfactory	10.9%	10.5%	8.1%
Dislike coverage of controversy	10.4%	10.9%	7.8%
Dislike editorial views	12.5%	2.0%	5.1%
Dissatisfied with sports and features	6.1%	3.8%	3.4%

*Percentages are based on the number of persons in each category answering the question. For exemple, 49.0 percent of the "real" stops in the college graduate or higher group said "prefer TV news" figured into their decision to stop, 41.8 percent of those with technical training or some college said "yes" to this item, and 29.3 percent of those with a high school education or less said "yes" to this item.

TABLE 22
OTHER REASONS FOR STOPPING, BY PERSON WHO MADE THE DECISION TO STOP

Reason	Who Made Decision		
	Husband	Wife	Joint
Prefer TV news	48.9%*	34.1%	42.6%
Not enough time to read	44.2%	42.0%	32.0%
Delivery service unsatisfactory	36.5%	26.0%	46.2%
Newspaper costs too much	27.4%	41.7%	9.8%
Started taking another newspaper	31.5%	22.4%	23.9%
Newspaper was uninteresting	15.7%	11.8%	11.8%
Collection/billing unsatisfactory	5.7%	12.8%	9.8%
Dislike coverage of controversy	2.0%	17.0%	12.5%
Dislike editorial views	4.1%	4.8%	11.1%
Dissatisfied with sports and features	7.8%	7.1%	0.0%

*Percentages are based on the number of persons in each category answering the question. For example, 48.9 percent of the "real" stop respondents in those cases where the husband made the decision said "prefer TV news" figured into their decision to stop, 34.1 percent of those respondents in cases where the wife made the decision said "yes" to this item, and 42.6 percent in cases where the decision was joint said "yes" to "prefer TV news."

TABLE 23
COMPARISON OF HUSBAND'S AND WIVE'S
OTHER REASONS FOR STOPPING

Reason	Husband's Ranking	Wife's Ranking
Prefer TV news	First	Third
Not enough time to read	Second	First
Delivery service unsatisfactory	Third	Fourth
Started taking another newspaper	Fourth	Fifth
Newspaper costs too much	Fifth	Second
Newspaper was uninteresting	Sixth	Eighth
Dissatisfied with sports and features	Seventh	Ninth
Collection/billing unsatisfactory	Eighth	Seventh
Dislike editorial views	Ninth	Tenth
Dislike coverage of controversy	Tenth	Sixth

TABLE 24
OTHER REASONS FOR STOPPING,
BY SIZE OF NEWSPAPER

Reason	Size of Newspaper		
	46,000	135,000	1,000,000
Prefer TV news	47.4%*	25.9%	42.4%
Not enough time to read	21.1%	12.5%	49.2%
Delivery service unsatisfactory	47.6%	56.3%	28.2%
Newspaper costs too much	42.9%	10.3%	28.6%
Started taking another newspaper	33.3%	24.5%	20.0%
Newspaper was uninteresting	25.0%	12.1%	8.1%
Collection/billing unsatisfactory	9.5%	31.0%	4.8%
Dislike coverage of controversy	15.8%	14.8%	7.3%
Dislike editorial views	6.7%	11.5%	5.1%
Dissatisfied with sports and features	5.0%	8.0%	3.4%

*Percentages are based on the number of persons in each category answering the question. For example, 47.4 percent of the "real" stops in the 46,000 circulation paper's survey said "prefer TV news" figured into their decision to stop, 25.9% said "yes" to the item in the medium-sized newspaper survey, and 42.4% said "yes" in the large-sized newspaper survey.

REFERENCES

ANPA News Research Center (1973), "News and Editorial Content and Readership of the Daily Newspaper," *News Research Bulletin No. 5.*

Roy E. Carter, Jr., and Peter Clarke (1962), "Why Suburban News Attracts Reader Interest," *Journalism Quarterly*, 39:522-5.

John S. Davenport (1950), "Trends and Cycles in Daily Newspaper Circulation," *Journalism Quarterly*, 27:282-7.

Mary Junck (1972), "Gaston County Retention Survey," a study conducted by the research department of *The Charlotte Observer*, May, 1972.

Los Angeles Times (1972), "New Home Delivery Subscription Study," Marketing Research Division.

Maxwell E. McCombs (1972), "Mass Media in the Marketplace," *Journalism Monographs*, No. 24.

McCombs and L. E. Mullins (1973), "Consequences of Education: Media Exposure, Political Interest and Information-Seeking," *Mass Comm Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 27-31.

McCombs and David Weaver (1973), "Voters' Need for Orientation and Use of Mass Communication," paper presented at annual convention of the International Communication Association, Montreal, Canada.

Milwaukee Journal (1970), "Five Stop/Start Studies," June 1969 to September 1970.

Wilbur Peterson (1959), "Is Daily Circulation Keeping Pace with the Nation's Growth?" *Journalism Quarterly*, 36:12-22.

Galen Rarick (1973), editor, *News Research for Better Newspapers*, Vol. 6, pp. 8-11.

M. E. Samuelson (1960), "Some News-Seeking Behavior in a Newspaper Strike," Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.

Leslie W. Sargent and Guido H. Stempel III (1968), "Poverty, Alienation, and Mass Media Use," *Journalism Quarterly*, 45:324-6.

Wilbur Schramm (1949), "The Nature of News," *Journalism Quarterly*, 26:259-69.

Schramm and David M. White (1949), "Age, Education, Economic Status: Factors in Newspaper Reading," *Journalism Quarterly*, 26:149-59.

Paul T. Scott (1954), "The Mass Media in Los Angeles Since the Rise of Television," *Journalism Quarterly*, 31:161-6.

Bruce H. Westley and Werner J. Severin (1964), "A Profile of the Daily Newspaper Non-Reader," *Journalism Quarterly*, 41:45-50, 156.

Westley and Lionel C. Barrow, Jr. (1959), "An Investigation of News-Seeking Behavior," *Journalism Quarterly*, 36:431-8.